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Adams - Letter to Shattuck - 1850



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THE BEQUEST OF  
HARRIET J. BRADBURY  
OF BOSTON

June 26, 1930

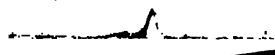


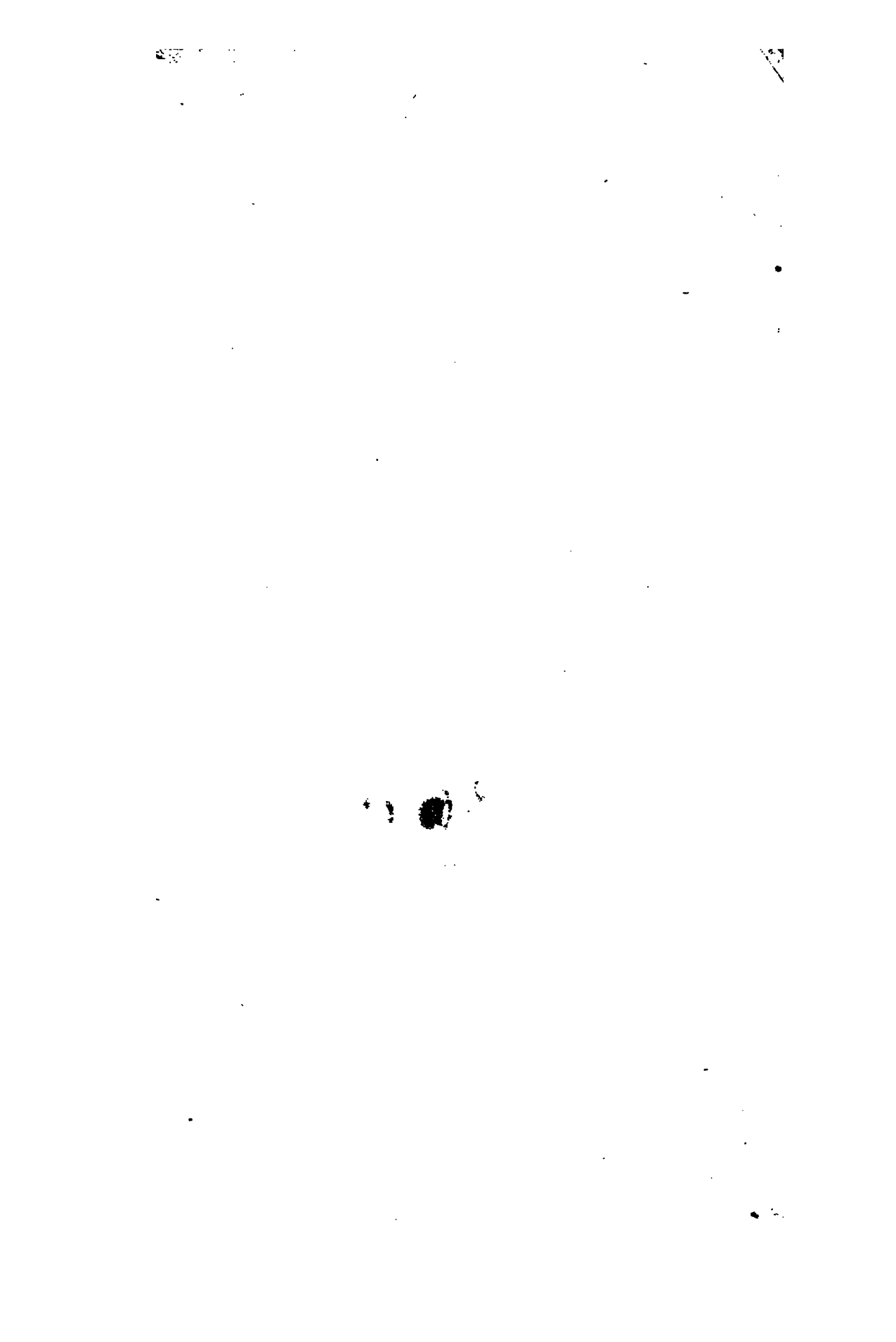


LETTER  
TO  
LEMUEL SHATTUCK, ESQ.  
OF BOSTON.  
FROM  
JOSIAH ADAMS, ESQ.  
OF FRAMINGHAM,  
IN VINDICATION OF THE CLAIMS OF  
CAPT. ISAAC DAVIS, OF ACTON,  
TO HIS JUST SHARE IN THE HONORS OF THE  
CONCORD FIGHT.

ALSO,  
DEPOSITIONS OF WITNESSES, STATING THE FACTS ON WHICH THE  
CLAIMS ARE FOUNDED, AND OTHER INTERESTING PAPERS.

BOSTON:  
DASHFIELD & MOORE, PRINTERS, 15 DEVONSHIRE STREET.  
1850.







Road to Carlisle & Westford

John White's Store

Road from John by Col. Roberts

Back Road

Wild Brown's Tavern

Main Road to the

the

The Provost formed on the & marched down the represented by the

lines. These roads were discontinued in 1793 when the below and above were and new roads made

Capt. Dav

old

MAP

of the SCENE at the

CONCORD FIGHT,

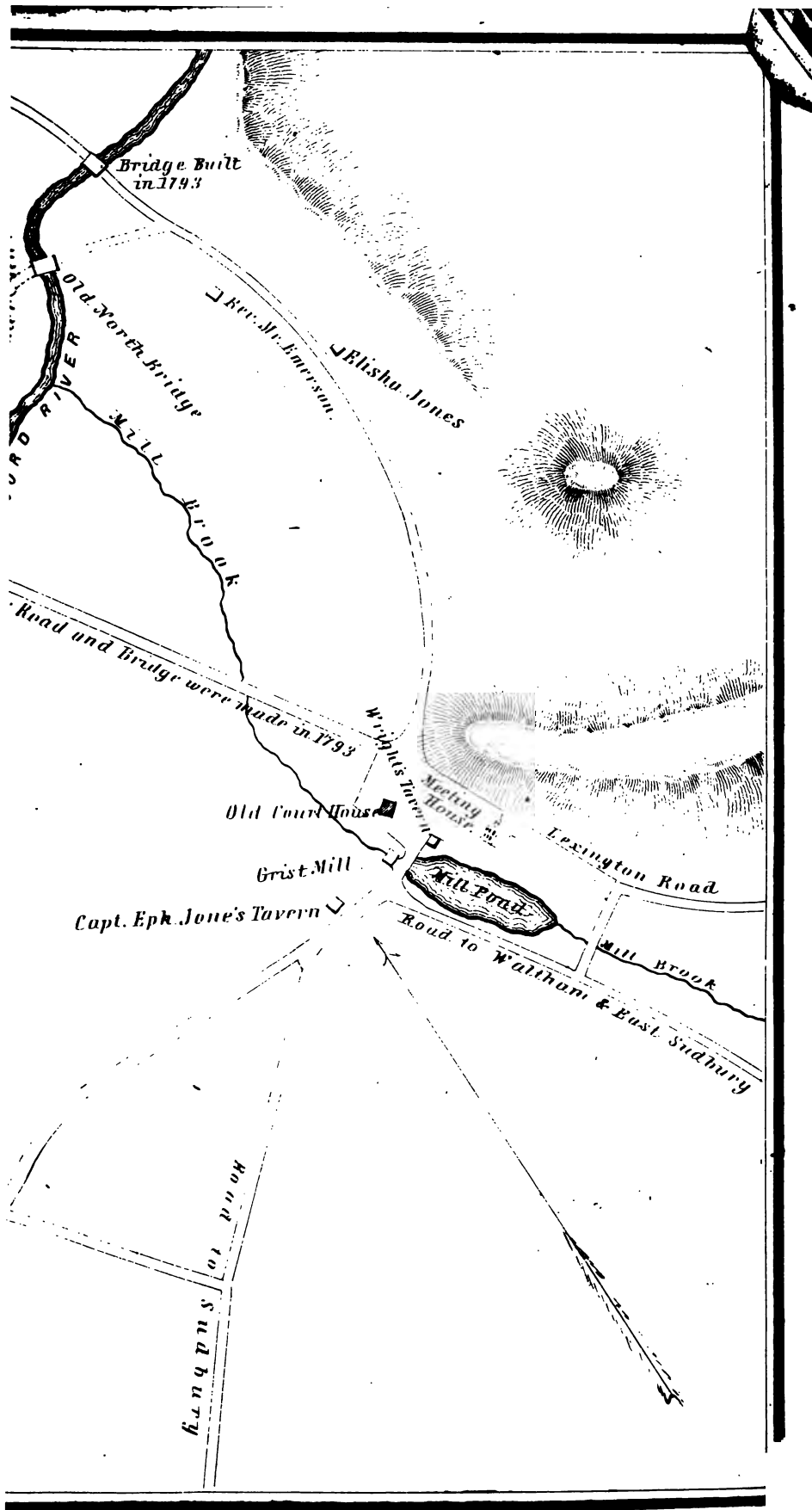
IN 1775.

Drawn from the original

Lee's Hill

as shown

as shown





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BEQUEST OF  
MRS. HARRIET J. BRADBURY  
JUNE 26, 1930

## TO THE PUBLIC.

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THE following letter will itself explain the reason of its being addressed to Mr. Shattuck.

The author regrets that the character of Dr. Ripley for truth may seem to be attacked. He disclaims any such intention. It was Dr. Ripley's good character which principally made it necessary to expose the extraordinary representations in a book of which he was *apparently* the main author. With such feelings, he said, in the Appendix to his Centennial Address at Acton, in 1835 :

"Let it be understood that none other than the purest intentions are imputed to Dr. Ripley. That gentleman is too well, and too extensively known, to be suspected of wilful misrepresentation. It was natural that he should give credence to the traditions of his own people: it was as natural that such a story ("viz. : that Capt. Davis assumed the *right*, and so was brought in front in wheeling from the right,") "should have been originated by some one at the time; and it was not of a nature to have induced those, whose characters for courage might seem to depend on its propagation, to be very solicitous to disseminate the truth.

There was one fact which could not be concealed or denied. *Capt. Davis led his company in front.* He had never claimed that place before. Capt. Brown and Capt. Miles commanded older companies of minute-men, and were on the ground long before Capt. Davis arrived; and it was the friends and the property of *their* men that were in danger. *Some* explanation, must have been given at the time. The inquiry must have been often made, and many, doubtless, gave the true answer. But, in the lapse of half a century, while a new generation was gradually taking the place of the actors in the scene, the explanations most honorary to their memories were alone retained; so that, in 1827, it came to be published to the world that the commanders of the Concord minute-men, on the 19th of April, 1775, were so indifferent to their rights, that, without remonstrance at the time, or complaint afterwards, they permitted a junior officer, from Acton, to usurp their place on the "*right*," unasking and unasked, and lead them to the defence of their "*own village.*"

And again :

"How far the style or the matter of the book is to be imputed to the gentleman whose name only appears on the title-page, it is difficult to say. But, as the names, the number, and the characters of the "*other citizens*" are kept out of sight, it seems reasonable to impute to one or more of *them* whatever is exceptionable, and to award the remainder to the individual whose name, age and character are known to the public."

With the same feelings it was added,

"Whatever may be thought of Col. Barrett's deposition, it is but justice to him to say that he was twenty-one years older than Major Buttrick; and, at the

age of sixty-five, he may be excused for remaining on horseback in the rear ; and, if such was the fact, for not joining in the pursuit in the afternoon."

And of Major Buttrick, on another page ;

"It is unpleasant thus to deal with the military character of a respectable and worthy man, who has long since been numbered with the dead. The necessity of it has grown out of an injudicious attempt, on the part of the living, to magnify a skirmish—a fight, as it was, at the time, and has, ever since, been called, into a regularly-conducted battle ; and to make it appear in history, that the Americans, who assembled in the morning, without any experience, or knowledge of the art of warfare, conducted the battle with great skill, courage, and intrepidity. Not satisfied with claiming for their town, the honor of its being the place where the *first* British blood was spilled, and where the *first* resistance was made, they must have it also, that most of what was actually done was *planned* and *executed* by officers belonging to the town of Concord. But the particular matter of complaint is, that, in attempting to show this, they have endeavored to increase their number of laurels, by taking from the brow of another. That other is dead also ; and whether he belonged to Acton, or not, is of no importance, compared with the duty of doing justice to his character."

The writer cannot better express his views and feelings in the matter of the Concord Fight, and of the manner in which it has been treated by the Concord historians, than by adding other extracts from the same pamphlet.

"A disposition to collect together traditionary tales, and publish them as established facts, without knowing the evidence on which they rest, is among the greatest faults of the historian. The book may be made larger, and may be read with more interest ; but the fountains of historical truth are irretrievably corrupted."

"That the provincials, generally, who were engaged at the bridge, were again engaged in the afternoon, and that they are entitled to their full share of the honors of the pursuit, has never been doubted. But that they had any particular agency, so as to entitle the whole to be denominated "the Battle of Concord," cannot be admitted, without something more than new assertions, backed up and countenanced by a motto from the anonymous newspaper article, known then and now as bearing anything but truth on its very face." (See Hist. of Concord, page 100.)

"The writer well knows that, by some of the remarks already made, and by some which will follow, he will be exposed to the censure of those who esteem it patriotic to exalt and extol, without a very scrupulous regard to facts, whatever concerns the glory of the nation, and especially the virtues and exploits of the heroes of the Revolution. His contempt for that notion is perfect and entire. It is the prevalence of the same feelings in all countries that has adulterated the pages of history with the relation of facts that never existed, and has suppressed others which rightfully belong to its pages, and which the reader is entitled to know. It has, therefore, been deemed a duty, without regard to other considerations, to be strictly confined to established facts, and to correct errors wherever they are believed to exist.

"A true regard for the memories of the military men of Concord, who were in office at the time of the Fight, did not require that an extraordinary effort should be made to exalt them to the dignity of military heroes, by pages filled with epithets, and titles, and all the varied forms of extollation. That they did as much as, under such trying and appalling circumstances, might be reasonably expected of men wholly unused to and ignorant of the art of war, is doubtless true. A generous meed of applause was awarded them by the nation, and historians have long since done them ample justice. That men of stout hearts should have hesitated on that morning to march into the village to meet such a force, is a matter of no wonder, and of no disgrace. If Major Buttrick and the Captains of the Concord minute-men had not the courage, or, if any one

pleases to call it so, the rashness of Col. Robinson, Captain Davis, and Adjutant Hosmer, they might still be good men and good officers. These two gentlemen are thus mentioned, because, from all the circumstances, it seems reasonable to believe that they, and probably others, were endeavoring to induce a movement of some kind against the enemy before the arrival of Capt. Davis. The public have long known that the late Sheriff Hosmer was an ardent, high-minded man, and had no lack of courage; and, with regard to Col. Robinson, he *voluntarily* assumed a post of danger, to which, as an officer, he was not called, and which he seems to have taken to encourage others. The circumstances under which the foregoing address was written and delivered, and the conviction that the memory of Capt. Davis had been injuriously attacked, and his conduct misstated, may have occasioned the use of language, in regard to him, which may be thought to detract from the just claims of others. It is still believed, however, that, without his arrival, the efforts to induce any movement in the forenoon would have been unsuccessful."

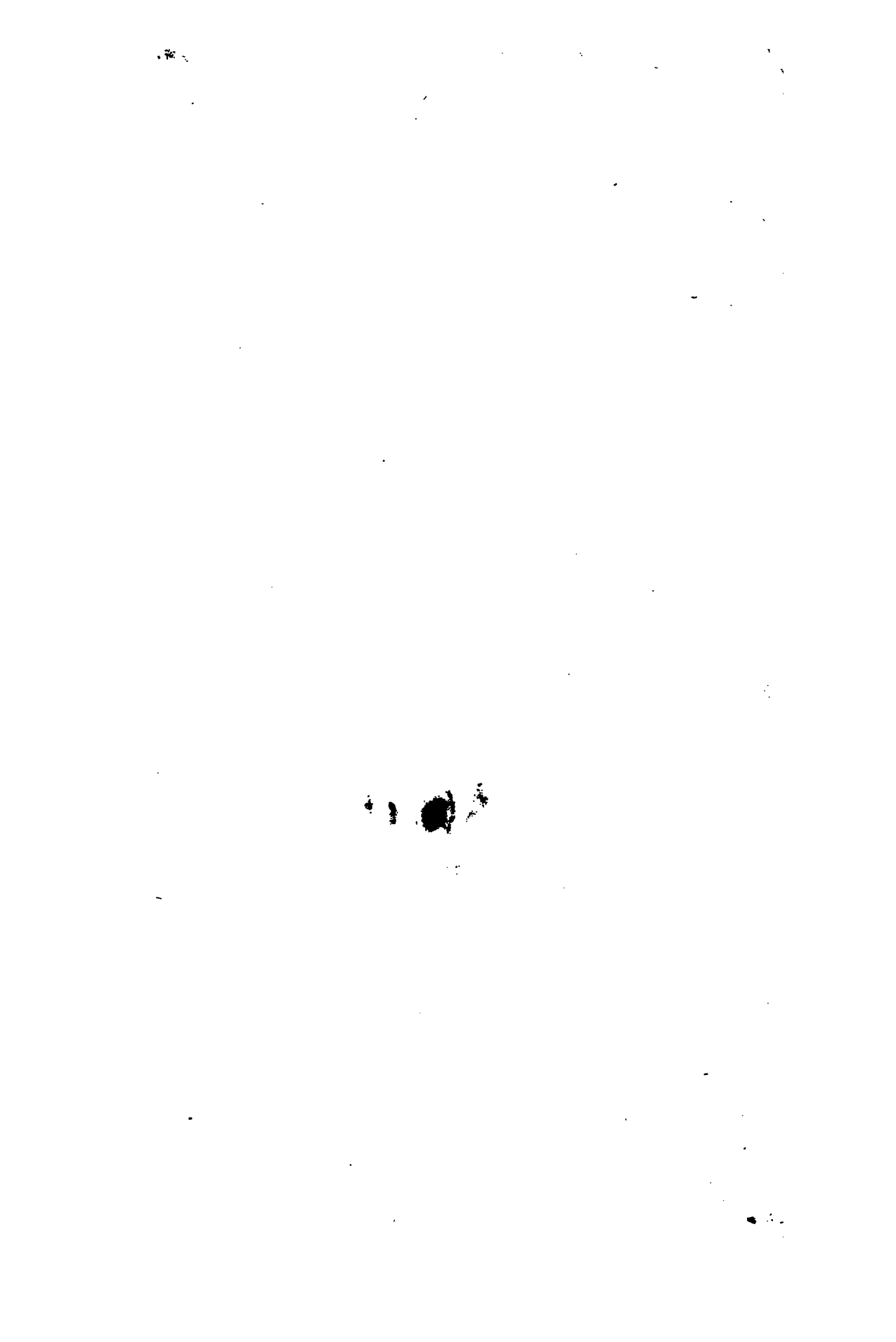
The depositions referred to in the letter are published with it, that the reader may compare them with the extracts. Also, the depositions of Mrs. Leighton, the wife of Capt. Davis, and that of Amos Baker, of Lincoln, lately taken by Judge Hoar, of Concord.

The writer has a bound volume containing Phinney's Hist. of the Battle of Lexington, published in 1825; the Hist. of the Concord Fight, published in 1827; the Hist. of Concord, &c., published in 1835; Emerson's Centennial Address at Concord, also in 1835; and his own at Acton, in the same year, which any one may examine who shall request it.

J. A.



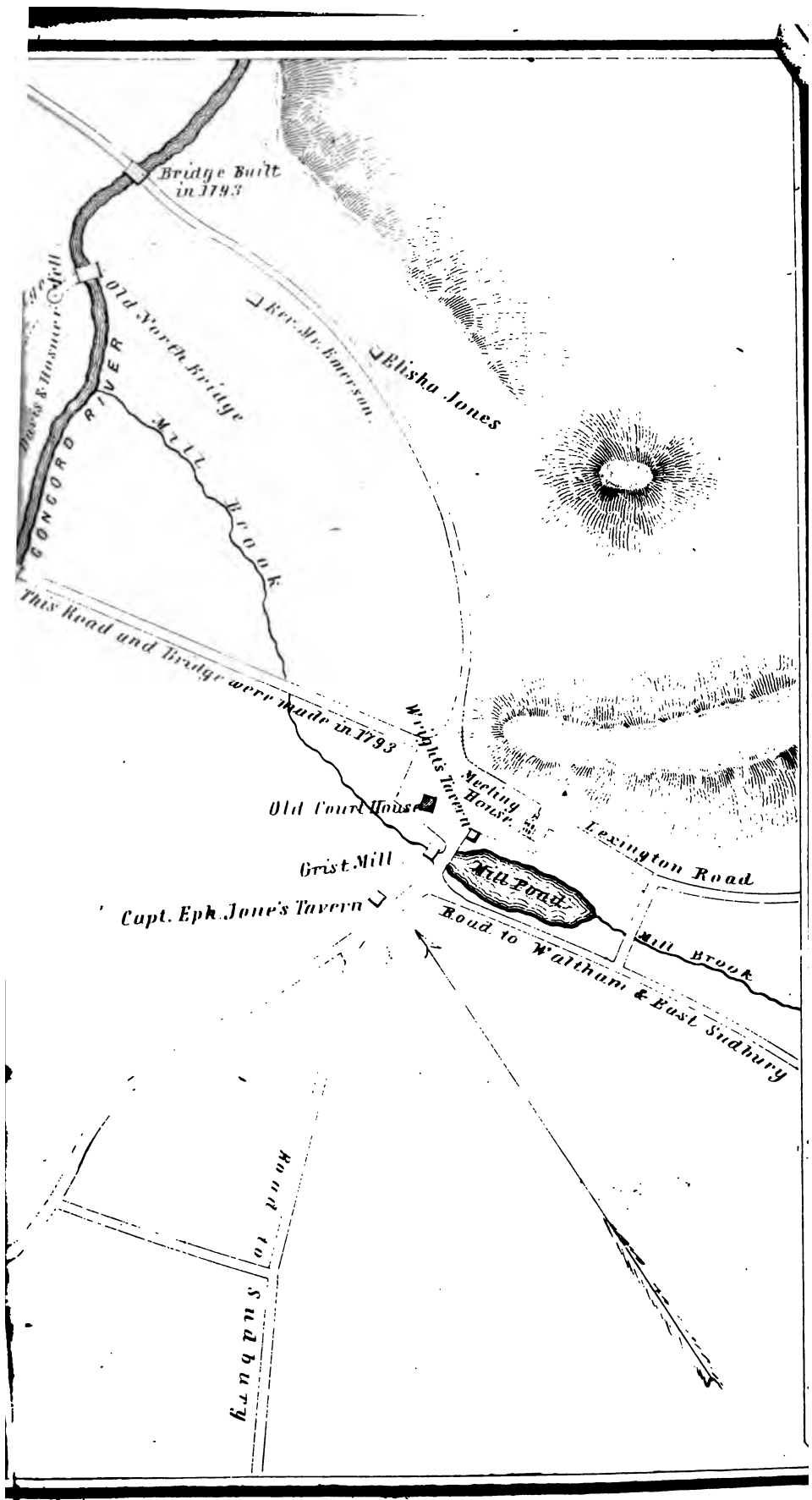




I. In the History of the Fight, (p. 15,) having described the ground on which the Americans formed, as they arrived in the morning, on the hill near the North Bridge, you assert that "when in this position, Captain Davis of Acton arrived and brought on his Company, and, *passing by all the other Companies, took the right of the whole, which placed him nearest to the bridge, and in front, when they marched toward the enemy.*"

It was necessary, for your purpose, to account, in some way, for the well-established fact that Captain Davis was killed, leading his Company, *in front*; though he was the junior officer both of Captain Brown and Captain Miles, the Commanders of the two Concord Minute Companies. And, to make it the more clear that Captain Davis assumed the most *honorable*, without knowing that it was also the most *dangerous* place, the word "right" was in Italics, and was again so printed, in a second edition, in 1832.

II. In your History of Concord, you do not pretend that Captain Davis was on the hill at all. But, without any allusion to your first misstatement, you proceed to another, (page 111,) to wit, that Captain Brown led his Company in front, from the hill, till he came to the *main road* leading by his house to the bridge; that Captain Davis there arrived, *on that road*, with *a part* of his Company, and passing him in front, marched a short distance towards the bridge, and halted till Captain Brown brought up his Company on the "north side, *equally in front*." These two contradictory statements are equally untrue, and are equally entitled to go in front of all the others. They are reckless stories, made without any pretence of proof; and were proved to be so by the depositions of Thomas Thorp and Solomon Smith, members of Davis's Company, which were published with the Acton Centennial, in 1835. You have never made any answer to that proof, though you had a Concord newspaper at your service, and the deponents lived, some years after, within five miles of Dr. Ripley and his secret advisers. You have permitted your libels on the character and memory of Isaac Davis to remain unrettracted for fifteen years; and if, at first, they might have passed merely as gross mistakes, they must now be set down as studied fabrications. Thorp and Smith testify that they marched from Acton under Captain Davis: that they arrived on the hill, by the *eastern or back road*, after most of the companies had formed; (and in this they are confirmed by Charles Handley, who lived at the house where the two roads met, and saw them take that road);—that Captain Davis placed his Company, where it had been placed a short time before, at a muster, on the *left* of the Concord Minute Companies; that the officers of the other Companies were in consultation near by, and were immediately joined by Captain Davis and his officers. The conversation could not be heard by them, but in about five minutes, he returned to his Company, drew his sword, and said, *I haven't a man that's afraid to go! MARCH!*" Thorp could not swear to the words, but they both testified that the Company immediately marched, in front, towards the bridge, Major Buttrick and Col. Robinson walking *with* Captain Davis, and that the other Companies fell in, and followed after. If you had sought information from these witnesses, known to be living in Acton, you might have seemed more desirous of furnishing Dr. Ripley with truth in regard to Captain Davis and his Company. Or if you had inquired of your neighbor, William Parkman, Esquire, one of Dr. Ripley's deacons, you would have obtained evidence resting on the very best author-



Charles Handley, of Acton, testified, "I heard at the time, and many times since, that one of the two British, who were killed at the bridge, was killed with a hatchet after he was left wounded. The young man, who killed him, told me, in 1807, that it had worried him very much, but he thought he was doing right at the time."

It has been intimated that, in taking Handley's deposition, I suppressed the name of the young man, *because he belonged to Davis's Company*. I could have inserted the name, but did not think it right to make it public. It shall be given, however, to any one who shall request it. Mr. Handley said he belonged to Concord at the time, and was afterwards a painter in that town, and was painting on the new meeting house in Acton at the time of the conversation. I mention this *only* to repel the unworthy motive imputed to me for withholding the name.

Let me now ask how you acquired the knowledge that *three* were killed. How did you ascertain that Zachariah Brown and Thomas Davis, Jr., buried but two of the three? They swear (see your own book, page 350) that they "buried the dead bodies of the king's troops," without saying how many: yet you assert positively that they buried two of the three. Why did they not bury the third? How was he disposed of? Was it accidental, or not, that you *first* disclosed that *three* were killed, on the same page where you suggest the erection of a monument over the two? Where is the soldier whose head was split open? Near the monument, unquestionably. And your assertion that "three were killed" can never remove him, nor add to the propriety of the erection of a monument to perpetuate the fame of the place where the *first* BRITISH blood was shed. If several depositions published in 1825, by the late Mr. Phinney, in his *History of the Battle of Lexington*, contain truth, the *first* British blood was shed *there*, in the morning. No one can read them and the other authorities cited by Frothingham, in his *Siege of Boston*, (pages 62, 63, 64, without being satisfied that such was the fact. But suppose the assertion to the contrary, about a matter of comparatively very small importance, but which you make the burden of your song of praise to Concord, were true; would it not have been better to have placed the monument on the other side of the river, where the *first* AMERICAN officer and one of his men *fell*?—especially as his Company was in front, and probably shed the blood of the only one of the enemy who was killed *in the fight*. That spot being also Concord territory, is it not possible that the monument might have been placed there, if Major Buttrick had been killed, and Captain Davis had lived, without being again seen or heard of during the day? I ask *you* this question because you were active in the erection of the monument, after having seen the published depositions of Thorp, Smith and Handley; and also, (it must be presumed,) the accounts of the day given by historians, especially Gordon and Botta, the first of whom had conversation about the hatchet with the Rev. Mr. Emerson, whose manuscripts "aided you in the work;" and the latter of whom (Vol. I., page 267,) after describing the manner of killing the soldier, as he had learned it, says, "We dare not affirm the truth of this abominable fact, *though we find it related by authors worthy of credit.*"

It is proper to state here, for the credit of all concerned in the erection of the monument, that it was not placed over the grave, as you proposed, but some forty feet nearer to the river, where the bodies were found dead; and

the difficulty is, to some extent, avoided, by wording the inscription so as not to state the number of the slain. The following is an extract: "Here stood the invading army; and on this spot, the first of the enemy fell, in the war of that Revolution," &c.; all of which is true, if one hundred men can be called an army. The Americans were four hundred and fifty. —See History of Concord, page 347, and History of the Fight, page 15.

IV. In both publications you represent the Concord officers as acting conspicuous parts. I will name but few of the many instances. Major Buttrick and Captain Davis are said to declare (History of the Fight, p. 15,) that they would "march into the middle of the town for its defence, or die in the attempt." You proclaim that "the Companies were commanded by Col. James Barrett, and led on by Major John Buttrick." And, at page 18, it is said of Major Buttrick, that "his situation gained him distinguished celebrity and honor." But, in neither of your books, in relating the events of the pursuit in the afternoon, do you mention him or Col. Barrett, though you give particulars as to many others. Where do you expect they were after Davis fell? Thorp and Smith, who pursued in the afternoon, both testified that they had no recollection of seeing either of them afterwards; that the detachment, which returned from Col. Barrett's soon after the fight, passed back over the bridge, "and might easily have been taken prisoners, if they had not been in such confusion; that there was no one who assumed any command." You say, in your History of the Fight, that "a part rushed over the bridge, and a part returned to the high ground, conveying and taking care of the dead"! This may account for the absence of both the Colonel and the Major, as the dead were two in number; viz., Davis and Hosmer.

V. Col. Barrett is represented as giving orders "not to fire unless fired upon;" and you state that resolutions were passed, on the hill, to the same effect, just before the fight; and that they resolved also that "*they would do no violence unless violently opposed.*" That is, if the enemy would fire no guns at them, nor violently oppose their "march into the village for its defence, or die in the attempt," they might continue the destruction of the military stores, and the burning of their houses, and carry off Col. Barrett to Boston, in welcome; at least, they would fire no guns, nor do any violence to prevent it.

It is not believed that any such silly resolutions were passed, though it seems well established that orders were given "not to fire unless fired upon." And, in your first publication, the order is attempted to be justified by the assertion that, *at the time of the fight*, it was not known that men had been killed at Lexington! In your second book, you only pretend that it was not known, *when the British first arrived*, which was at about half past seven o'clock in the morning, (pages 103 to 106). But in the same book (page 348,) you published, for another purpose, the depositions of Captain Nathan Barrett, and fifteen others of Concord, and eight others of Lincoln, all taken a few days after the fight, who testify: "On Wednesday, the 19th instant, *about an hour after sunrise*, we assembled on a hill near the meeting house in Concord aforesaid, *in consequence of an information that a number of regular troops had killed six of our countrymen at Lexington*, and were on their march to Concord; and in about an hour afterwards, we saw them approaching."

VI. In the History of the Fight, (page 19,) it is alleged "the firing on

each side lasted but a minute or two. The British immediately retreated. When the Americans had fired, most of the forward Companies leaped over a wall on the left and fired from behind it." Thorp and Smith both negative this last fact, and they both swear they immediately retreated in great haste, and that no guns were fired, on either side, after the return fire of the British, till they left the village. "A part of the Americans rushed over the bridge, and pursued the British till they saw a large reinforcement advancing, when they turned to the left and ascended a hill east of the main road." And, on the next page, "The bloody conflict at the bridge being over, and the Americans fatigued and hungry, having had no regular, if any, breakfast, many of them improved this interval to take refreshment." \* \* \* \* "After a little respite, Col. Barrett and others rallied, and encouraged their armed brethren to pursue their retreating enemy." He did not, however, go himself; and whether Major Buttrick was active or passive in that operation, or whether he "gained any distinguished celebrity and honor" about that time, is not told. "Most of the armed Americans took a nearer route across the fields, and *overtook* the enemy as they passed the road from Bedford. They there met a body of minute men, commanded by Major John Brooks. Col. Wm. Thompson of Billerica, with a body of militia from that town and vicinity, came up to the contest on the Bedford road. About this period and place, the Company from East Sudbury, and individuals from that quarter, came up to the attack, on the south side of the road. A little *below* the Bedford road, on Merriam's Corner, so called, there was a sharp action, and several of the British were killed."

In your History of Concord, you attempt to connect the transactions at the bridge with the events of the afternoon, so as to make all tell as the "Battle of Concord." You retract nothing of your first account, and do not even allude to it. You say (page 112.) "About 150 went *immediately* across the Great Field to *intercept* the enemy on their retreat, at Merriam's Corner; and, (page 114.) "they had followed the retreating party between the bridge and the village, and fired single-handed from the high ground, or from behind such shelter as came in their way!"—a fact never before pretended, and contrary to all the evidence. In the *next sentence*, "The king's troops retreated, &c. On arriving at Merriam's Corner, they were *attacked* by the provincials, who *had* proceeded across the Great Field, in conjunction with a Company from Reading, under the late Governor Brooks. Several of the British were killed, and several wounded." And where were the body of militia from Billerica and vicinity, under Col. Thompson, (to say nothing of the East Sudbury Company) who came up to the contest at the Bedford road, (above Merriam's Corner)?—Where the Americans, from the North Bridge, who "took a nearer route across the fields, and *overtook* the enemy?" Which of these statements do you now say is true? Both cannot be. To say that the first is most probable would be but feeble approbation. If you have not chosen to offer any evidence, and do not regard that produced by others, you should, at least, pay some respect to your own statements.

You admit, in both publications, that the enemy left the village not far from twelve o'clock, though they "*hastily* collected their scattered parties." It was a delay of more than two hours, though you assert (History of Concord, p. 113,) that the firing took place between ten and eleven o'clock." But in a Record-book kept by David Brown, Captain of one of the Concord

Minute Companies, it is noted:—"April 19, 1775. The skirmish at Concord North Bridge. Captain Davis of Acton killed, and one Hosmer of Acton, between *nine and ten* of the clock in the forenoon; and it lasted till dusk, when the enemy got down to Charlestown." The resolution to "march into the middle of the town for its defence, or die in the attempt," seems to have been forgotten. Major Buttrick and Captain Davis (*History of the Fight*, p. 15,) are said to have used the same expression. But words are not actions; and I repeat, in the language of my Address, "The soul of action, on that morning was the soul of Isaac Davis; and when that soul fled, the action was over."

In the Introduction to the *History of the Fight*, you profess to give "a fair, unvarnished statement of facts respecting the Fight at Concord, without evasion or false coloring." You allege that "some minutes were made in after years, some facts were noted, and many are remembered by living witnesses." And in your *History of Concord*, you inform us that "the Rev. William Emerson and *several others* left matters in manuscript, which has aided me in this work." But you do not state even the substance of any such minutes, facts noted, or matters in manuscript, nor do you refer to the recollection of any living person, or any other authority, to support any of the statements which have been controverted.

Fortunately for the memory of Captain Davis and his Company, some of its members lived to read your fabrications, and to record their testimony to the truth. That testimony is a matter of record on the town book of Acton. It is fortunate too that circumstances occurred, in 1835, which made it my duty to visit the old veterans, and secure their testimony. The present and coming generations will be able to judge between the depositions of witnesses present at the memorable scene, on the one hand, and the unsupported, contradictory, though unretracted assertions of "Lemuel Shattuck, member of the Massachusetts Historical Society," on the other.

As a native of Acton, whose earliest recollections are most favorably associated with the character of Captain Davis, as a patriot, a soldier, and a man—whose widow was my father's neighbor and parishioner, and my mother's particular friend, and whose children were my schoolmates, I have been impelled to the attempt to rescue his character from the obloquy which you have cast upon it, and restore it to its just place in the history of the Revolution. If his memory shall, nevertheless, suffer from your misrepresentations, (as to some extent, it must,) I shall have the satisfaction of feeling, during the short period of life remaining, that I have done all in my power to prevent it.

JOSIAH ADAMS.

*Framingham, July, 1850.*



## DEPOSITIONS, & C.

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Some attempts have been made to avoid the testimony of Mr. Smith and Mr. Thorp, either by attacks on their characters for truth, or by representing them as having lost their powers of recollection. It has therefore been thought proper to accompany their depositions with the following certificate, which is signed by the Selectmen, the Representative, and the only settled Clergyman, all the magistrates in the town, being five in number, and by three others, who were members of the Committee of Arrangements, at the Centennial celebration.

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ACTON, DECEMBER 2, 1835.

We, the subscribers, hereby certify that we are well acquainted with Solomon Smith, Thomas Thorp, and Charles Handley, of Acton, and have always considered them men of veracity, and have never heard that their characters for truth have been doubted. Some of us know, personally, and all believe, from inquiry, that they still retain their mental faculties, in more than an ordinary degree.

FRANCIS TUTTLE,	} Selectmen of Acton.
JOHN WHITE,	
JOSEPH W. TUTTLE,	
SIMON HOSMER,	
SILAS JONES,	
JOHN FLETCHER,	
ELNATHAN JONES,	
JAMES T. WOODBURY,	
JOHN ROBBINS,	
ABRAHAM CONANT,	
STEVENS HAYWARD.	

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### THOMAS THORP'S DEPOSITION.

I, Thomas Thorp, of Acton, testify that I am in my eightieth year, and have lived here ever since I was fifteen years old. I was a member of Capt. Isaac Davis's Company, which was formed in November, 1774. We usually met twice a week for drill. Capt. Davis was a gunsmith. He was esteemed a man of courage and prudence, and had the love and veneration of all his com-

pany. On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, I had notice that the regulars were coming to Concord. I took my equipments, and proceeded to Capt. Davis's house. I passed the house of the Rev. Mr. Swift. His son, Doctor Swift, made me a present of a cartridge-box, as he saw I had none. I well remember that there was, on the outside, a piece of red cloth, in the shape of a heart. Several of the company had arrived before me, and some of them were putting powder (flour) on their hair. About half the company formed there, and the remainder, as many as forty in the whole, joined us early in the day, and most of them before the fight. We made a short stay near Col. Barrett's, and proceeded to the North Bridge, where we found a great collection of armed men, from Concord and other towns;—there were several hundreds, cannot say how many. The officers seemed to be talking by themselves, and the British were then at the bridge. Our officers joined the others; and, in a few minutes, not exceeding five, Capt. Davis returned to his company, and said something which I do not recollect, and gave the word "march." It seemed to have been agreed that Capt. Davis should go in front. He had not taken the right of the other companies, as has been stated. The Concord Minute Company was the oldest, and as such had taken its place at a muster a short time before. Our company, however, marched in front, and Major Buttrick and Col. Robinson were with Capt. Davis.

As we were advancing, the British began to take up the bridge; on which, we quickened our pace, and ran toward them. They desisted, and joined their ranks. I saw a ball strike the water on my right, and some other guns were fired over our heads. A volley was then discharged at us, and Luther Blanchard, our fifer, was wounded. We were then ordered to fire, and did so. The fire was returned, and Capt. Davis and Abner Hosmer, one of his men, were killed, and Ezekiel Davis, a brother of the Captain, had a ball pass through his hat. I did not understand that he was injured, but have since understood that his head was slightly touched by the ball.

Two of the enemy were killed;—one with a hatchet, after being wounded and helpless. This act was a matter of horror to us all. I saw him sitting up and wounded, as we had passed the bridge.

Our company and most of the others pursued, but in great disorder, and went to an eminence back of Elisha Jones's, and stood behind a wall, forty rods or more from where the British had joined a reinforcement. In a short time we returned over the bridge, but did not form in any order. As we stood there, the detachment from Col. Barrett's returned, and passed us, and might easily have been taken prisoners if we had not been in such confusion. I do not remember that any one was there who assumed any command.

About this time, the troops left the village, and, after some delay to take refreshment, the Americans pursued, and various skirmishes took place, till the British encamped on Bunker-Hill, a little before sunset. It was impossible for me to know that all our company pursued; but I did not hear, at the time, nor since, that any one deserted.

I cannot say how many were at the bridge in the morning, but should think not more than forty or fifty, at most. I could see a great number on Lee's Hill, about a mile distant; I should judge there were three or four hundred. I saw them in the morning, at the time of the fight.

(Signed)

THOMAS THORP.

MIDDLESEX, ss. JULY 10, 1835. Then Thomas Thorp, who is, and long has been, personally known to me as a man of truth, subscribed the foregoing affidavit, and made oath that the same is true, according to his best knowledge and belief.

Before me,

FRANCIS TUTTLE,  
Justice of the Peace.

### THOMAS THORP'S SECOND DEPOSITION.

I, Thomas Thorp, testify that, according to the best of my recollection and judgment, the number of the British at and near the North Bridge, before the fight, was about eighty; but they were scattered about, so that I cannot be certain; there might be more. It was supposed to be one company. I saw the detachment return from Col. Barrett's. It consisted of one company, as I judged by their appearance. I should think the reinforcement that came out from the village consisted of about the same number; but of this last I am not so certain.

The British retreated from the bridge immediately after returning our fire, and there were no guns fired afterwards till they had left the village.

I have no remembrance of seeing or hearing of Col. Barrett or Major Buttrick after the enemy retreated from the bridge. The British left the village about noon, without any interruption from the Americans.

I remained in the army during the whole war, and am now a pensioner.

I never knew, or heard, till lately, that any of our men leaped over the wall on the north side of the causeway, to fire at the British at the bridge. We had no time to fire but once, as the British returned our fire immediately, and immediately retreated in great haste.

I may have been mistaken in stating, in my first deposition, that Davis and Hosmer were not killed by the volley; it might have been otherwise, as there was very little time between the volley and the return fire.

THOMAS THORP.

MIDDLESEX, SS. DEC. 2, 1835. Then Thomas Thorp, who is known to me as a man of truth, made oath that the above affidavit is true, according to his best knowledge and belief.

Before me, SIMON HOSMER,  
Justice of the Peace.

### SOLOMON SMITH'S DEPOSITION.

I, Solomon Smith, of Acton, testify that I am now in my eighty-second year. I have lived in Acton, from about the year 1760 to the present time. I was a member of Capt. Davis's company of minute-men, and was in the fight at Concord in 1775. We turned out to drill and exercise, twice a week, from the November preceding. I think the company consisted of about forty. The company was raised by voluntary enlistment. The town paid us eight pence for every half day. John Hayward was the Lieutenant, and John Heald the Ensign. They were both good officers, and had the confidence of their men. I was alarmed, on the 19th of April, about daybreak. I gave notice to several of the company, and went to Capt. Davis's house, and found several of the company there. His family were sick. He had four children, some of whom had the canker-rash, and the others were unwell. Capt. Davis appeared to be heavy hearted. One of the men used some light language, and was reproved by Capt. Davis. We set out for Concord when the sun was something more than an hour high. Other members of the company joined us on the road, and the remainder, in the course of the forenoon—most of them before the fight. We made some delay near Col. Barrett's, and then proceeded to the high ground north of the bridge. There was a considerable number of men from Concord and other towns assembled there, and others were fast joining them. Immediately after our arrival, the officers of the companies, including ours, went by themselves a few rods, and held a consultation for a few minutes.

Capt. Davis then came to the head of his company, drew his sword, and said to the company, "I have n't a man that is afraid to go," and gave the word "march." We proceeded toward the bridge in double file. Major Buttrick and Col. Robinson marched with Capt. Davis. I do not know the order in which the other companies fell in.

When we came first on the ground, Capt. Davis took the left of the Concord minute-men, as he had done a few weeks before at a muster; and he went from this position, when he took the front, as above stated.

After we began to move, the British were beginning to take up the bridge; some one, (I believe it was Major Buttrick,) remonstrated in a loud voice; and, about the same time, they desisted, and formed for action. I next saw a ball, from the enemy, strike in the river, and heard the report of two others, directly after, which were thought not to be aimed at us. A volley immediately followed, by which Luther Blanchard, our fifer, was slightly wounded; and hearing him cry out, Major Buttrick exclaimed, "Fire, for God's sake, fire!" The order was obeyed, and the British returned the fire, and killed Captain Davis and Abner Hosmer, a private of his company, and wounded Ezekiel Davis, (a brother of the Captain,) on the head. They then retreated toward the village. Two of the British were killed there. One of them was left on the ground wounded, and, in that situation, was killed, by an American, with a hatchet. This act met with universal disapprobation, and was excused only by the excitement and inexperience of the perpetrator. The enemy retreated till they met a reinforcement near the village. I do not know what proportion of the Americans followed over the bridge; but our company, and the Concord minute-men, and very many others, proceeded to an eminence, on the east side of the road, back of Elisha Jones's house, behind a wall. It was, perhaps, forty rods from where the enemy had halted. After a short time, we dispersed, and, without any regularity, went back over the bridge. While we were there, the detachment, which had been to destroy stores at Col. Barrett's, returned, and passed us without molestation. It was owing to our want of order, and our confused state, that they were not taken prisoners. They passed the two of their number, who had been killed, and saw that the head of one had been split open. It was said that this circumstance gave them the impression that the Americans would give no quarter.

It was soon after ascertained that the British were leaving the village, and we followed after them, without any order, firing when we could, and saw the last of them, for that day, on Bunker Hill.

Capt. Davis was a man of great firmness and energy of character,—an excellent officer, and had the respect and esteem of all who knew him. Lieutenant Hayward did all that could be done; but it was felt at the time that the loss of our Captain was the cause of much of the confusion that followed.

(Signed)

SOLOMON SMITH.

MIDDLESEX, ss. JULY 10, 1835. Then Solomon Smith, who is well known to me as a man of veracity, subscribed the foregoing affidavit, and made oath that the same is true, according to his best knowledge and belief.

Before me,

FRANCIS TUTTLE,  
Justice of the Peace.

### SOLOMON SMITH'S SECOND DEPOSITION.

I, Solomon Smith, testify that, according to the best of my recollection and judgment, the number of the enemy at the bridge, at the time of the Concord Fight, was only sufficient for one company; perhaps about eighty. The de-

tachment, which went to Col. Barrett's, was of about the same number. They passed near me as they returned. The reinforcement from the village appeared to me to consist of about the same number. I saw them from the hill back of Elisha Jones's house. I did not notice that there were troops on Lee's Hill, but heard of it soon after.

There were no guns fired, on either side, after the British returned our fire, till the troops left the village.

I have no remembrance of seeing or hearing from Col. Barrett, or Major Buttrick, after the fight. The enemy left the village about noon.

I was in the revolutionary army thirteen months, and am now a pensioner.

Our company marched to Concord, by the Strawberry-hill road; when we arrived near Col. Barrett's, we left that road, and went, partly in a cross road, and partly across the fields, in nearly a straight course, to the widow Brown's tavern. We there took the back, or east road, to the high ground.

The bodies of Davis and Hosmer were carried, as I was told, to the house of Major Buttrick, very soon after they were killed, and before the detachment returned from Col. Barrett's.

I did not see any of the Americans leap over the wall, on the north side of the road, to fire at the British at the bridge, nor did I ever hear so, till of late. There was no time nor occasion to do so, as the enemy retreated, with quick step, immediately on returning our fire.

I may have been mistaken in saying, in my former deposition, that Davis and Hosmer were killed by the return fire, and not by the volley; there was very little time intervened between them.

SOLOMON SMITH.

MIDDLESEX, ss. DEC. 2, 1835. Then Solomon Smith, who is known to me as a man of truth, made oath that the above affidavit is true, according to his best knowledge and belief.

Before me,

SIMON HOSMER,  
Justice of the Peace.

### CHARLES HANDLEY'S DEPOSITION.

I, Charles Handley, of Acton, testify that I am a native of Concord. At the time of the Concord Fight, I was in my thirteenth year, and lived at the tavern kept by Mrs. Brown, nearly a mile northwest of the North Bridge. At the time of the fight, the British, consisting of about one hundred, had returned from Col. Barrett's as far as the tavern, and three or four of the officers were in the house, taking some drink. The soldiers were sitting by the roadside, and some drink was carried out to them. The officers offered to pay, and Mrs. Brown declined; they told her not to be afraid, for they should do her no harm, and paid for their drink.

I heard the guns at the bridge, but the British did not appear to hear them. They marched on very soon, but were in no haste. It was always said that they had no knowledge of the fight till they passed the bridge, and saw the men that had been killed. I heard, at the time, and many times since, that one of the two British, who were killed at the bridge, was killed, with a hatchet, after he was left wounded. The young man who killed him told me, in 1807, that it had worried him very much; but that he thought he was doing right at the time.

I saw Captain Davis's company, as they came from Acton. I first saw them coming through the fields north of Barrett's mill, and they kept the fields till they came to the road at Mrs. Brown's tavern. They there took the back road leading to the bridge. They marched quite fast to the music of a fife and drum.

I remember the tune, but am not sure of its name; think it was called the  
 "White Cockade."\*  
 CHARLES HANDLEY.

MIDDLESEX, ss. Dec. 1, 1835. Personally appeared Charles Handley, who has, for many years, been known to me as a man of veracity, and made oath that the above affidavit is true according to his best knowledge and belief.

Before me, JOSIAH ADAMS,  
 Justice of the Peace.

### DEPOSITION OF THE WIFE OF CAPTAIN DAVIS.

I, Hannah Leighton, of Acton, testify that I am eighty-nine years of age, Isaac Davis, who was killed in the Concord Fight, in 1775, was my husband. He was then thirty years of age. We had four children, the youngest about fifteen months old. They were all unwell when he left me in the morning; some of them with the canker-rash.

The alarm was given early in the morning, and my husband lost no time in making ready to go to Concord with his company. A considerable number of them came to the house, and made their cartridges there. The sun was from one to two hours high when they marched for Concord.

My husband said but little that morning. He seemed serious and thoughtful, but never seemed to hesitate as to the course of his duty. As he led the company from the house, he turned himself round, and seemed to have something to communicate. He only said "Take good care of the children," and was soon out of sight.

In the afternoon, he was brought home a corpse. He was placed in my bedroom till the funeral. His countenance was pleasant, and seemed little altered.

The bodies of Abner Hosmer, one of the company, and of James Hayward, one of the militia company, who was killed in Lexington, in the afternoon, were brought by their friends to the house, where the funeral of the three was attended together.

HANNAH LEIGHTON.

MIDDLESEX, ss. AUGUST 14, 1835. Then the above named Hannah Leighton, who has long been known to me as a respectable and credible woman, made oath that the foregoing affidavit, by her subscribed, is true, according to her best knowledge and belief. Before me, FRANCIS TUTTLE,

Justice of the Peace.

### BRADLEY STONE'S DEPOSITION.

I, Bradley Stone, of Acton, aged forty-two, certify that in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-nine, or thirty, while I was a tenant of a part of the house in Concord, belonging to William Parkman, Esquire, of that place, I had a conversation with him, relative to the Concord Fight of the 19th of April, 1775. I had read the "History of the Fight, by Ezra Ripley, D. D., and other persons of Concord," and had a curiosity to know more of the history of that day. I asked him what part he took in the affairs of the day. He replied that he did not bear arms, but acted as one of a Committee of Vigilance, and he explained to me the duties of that Committee. He said he was present on the hill, when the Companies were formed, as they arrived in the morning. Capt. Davis, of Acton, he said, arrived after most or all the Companies had formed, and placed

\* The witness whistled the tune, which was known to me by that name. J. A.

his Company on the left. Capt. Davis and his officers then went to the other officers, who were standing in consultation; they were advising with the Committee of Vigilance, as to what should be done, as to the military stores at Col. Barrett's house. A detachment of the enemy were supposed to be about to make an attack, and Major Buttrick ordered the Captain of one of the Concord Companies to meet them. The Captain replied that he should rather not. Major Buttrick turned to Capt. Davis and asked him if he was afraid to go. Capt. Davis replied promptly, "*No, I am not, and there is n't a man in my Company that is!*" Deacon Parkman said he saw Capt. Davis, immediately after, march with his Company toward the enemy, and soon after heard the firing, as he was going toward Col. Barrett's in the discharge of his duty.

Deacon Parkman spoke, in high terms of approbation, of the Acton Company, and particularly of the dignified and soldierlike appearance of their Commander. He said it was his belief that, if Capt. Davis had not been killed, not one of the enemy would have returned to Boston. I asked how it was that Concord had taken all the praise? He replied, with emphasis and feeling, "It is wrong—Acton ought to have the credit of it."

BRADLEY STONE.

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

MIDDLESEX, ss. August 16, 1845. Then Bradley Stone, who is personally known to me as a man of veracity, made oath that the foregoing affidavit, by him subscribed, contains the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, relative to the subject matter thereof. Before me,

SAMUEL HAYWARD, Justice of the Peace.

### AFFIDAVIT OF THE LAST SURVIVOR.

The affidavit of Amos Baker of Lincoln, given April 22, 1850; he being the sole survivor of the men who were present at the North Bridge at Concord, on the 19th of April, 1775, and the only man living who bore arms on that day.

I, Amos Baker, of Lincoln, in the County of Middlesex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on oath depose and say that I was ninety-four years old on the eighth day of April, 1850; I was at Concord Fight on the nineteenth of April, 1775; I was then nineteen years and eleven days old. My brother Nathaniel, who was then paying his addresses to the girl whom he afterwards married, was at the house where she was staying, near the line between Lexington and Lincoln, and received the alarm there from Dr. Samuel Prescott, and came over and gave it to me. My father and my four brothers, Jacob, Nathaniel, James, and Samuel, and my brother in law, Daniel Hosmer, were in arms at the North Bridge. After the fight at the bridge, I saw nothing more of them, and did not know whether they were alive or dead, until I found two of my brothers engaged in the pursuit near Lexington meeting house. Nathaniel followed the enemy to Charlestown.

When I went to Concord in the morning, I joined the Lincoln company at the brook by Flint's pond, near the house then of Zachary Smith, and now of Jonas Smith. I loaded my gun with two balls,—ounce balls, and powder accordingly. I saw the British troops coming up the road that leads on to the Common at Concord. The sun shone very bright on their bayonets and guns.

Abijah Pierce of Lincoln, the Colonel of the minute men, went up armed with nothing but a cane.

When we were going to march down to the bridge, it was mentioned between Major Buttrick, and Capt. Isaac Davis, that the minute men had better be put

in front, because they were the only men that had bayonets, and it was not certain whether the British would fire, or whether they would charge bayonets without firing. I do not remember which of them said it, but they both agreed to it; and Captain Davis's company of minute men was then brought up on the right. Then they saw the smoke of the town house, and, I think, Major Buttrick\* said "Will you stand here and let them burn the town down?" And the order was given to march, and we all marched down without any further order or arrangement.

The British had got up two of the planks of the bridge. It is a mercy they fired on us at the bridge, for we were going to march into the town, and the British could load and fire three times to our once, because we had only powder horns and no cartridge boxes, and it would have been presumptuous. I understood that Colonel Abijah Pierce got the gun of one of the British soldiers who was killed at the bridge, and armed himself with it. There were two British soldiers killed at the bridge. I saw them when I went over the bridge, lying close together, side by side, dead.

Joshua Brooks, of Lincoln, was at the bridge and was struck with a ball that cut through his hat, and drew blood on his forehead, and it looked as if it was cut with a knife; and we concluded they were firing jackknives.

When we had fired at the bridge and killed the British, Noah Parkhurst, who was my right hand man, said, "Now the war has begun and no one knows when it will end."

Before the fighting began, when we were on the hill, James Nichols of Lincoln, who was an Englishman, and a droll fellow, and a fine singer, said, "If any of you will hold my gun, I will go down and talk to them." Some of them held his gun, and he went down alone to the British soldiers at the bridge, and talked to them some time. Then he came back and took his gun, and said he was going home, and went off before the fighting. Afterwards he enlisted to go to Dorchester, and there deserted to the British, and I never heard of him again. I believe I was the only man from Lincoln that had a bayonet. My father got it in the time of the French war.

I went into the house where Davis and Hosmer were carried after they fell, and saw their bodies. I supposed the house to be Major Buttrick's.

When we marched down to the bridge, Major Buttrick\* marched first, and Captain Davis next to him. I did not see Colonel Robinson to know him.

I verily believe that I felt better that day, take it all the day through, than if I had stayed at home.

AMOS BAKER, Seal.  
E. R. HOAR,  
JOSIAH BARTLETT,  
JAS. BAKER.

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

MIDDLESEX, ss. APRIL 22, 1850. Personally appeared Amos Baker, the within named deponent, known to me to be a man of good character, and in the full possession of his mind and memory, and made the foregoing statement, which was reduced to writing by me, in his presence, and it was afterwards carefully read to him, and he then subscribed it, and made oath that the same is true. Before me,

EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR,  
Justice of the Peace, and Justice of the C. C. P.

\* This expression has always been imputed to Joseph Hosmer, late Sheriff of Middlesex, and known, in public life, as a man of great firmness and energy of character.

"Joseph Hosmer, acting as Adjutant, observing an unusual smoke arising in the centre of the town, went to the officers and citizens in consultation, on the high ground near by, and inquired earnestly, 'Will you let them burn the town down?'"—History of Concord, p. 111.



NOTE. — I called on Mr. Baker early in the afternoon of the 5th of July, 1850, with a view of obtaining further information. He was asleep on his bed, and I was unwilling to disturb him. In about half an hour, he awoke and walked very slow and feebly across the room to a chair. I understood he had failed very much in a few days. I told him I wished to ask him more about the Concord Fight, but he seemed so feeble, and so distressed with the idea, that I judged it improper to trouble him further. It was my purpose to inquire if he heard anything about the hatchet, either at the time or afterwards; if he knew that both the soldiers who lay side by side were dead;—whether he saw them when he pursued over the bridge, or when he returned;—whether the Concord Minute Companies had bayonets—whether Major Buttrick was present when he saw the bodies of Davis and Hosmer, and whether he or Col. Barrett pursued in the afternoon—whether there was any firing, on the retreat, between the bridge and the village, and some other matters to which his attention did not seem to have been called; but his state was such that it did not appear probable that certain reliance could be placed on his answers. Mr. Baker died July 16. J. A.

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### MR. HAWTHORNE'S SKETCH.

Dr. Ripley married the widow of Mr. Emerson, and succeeded to the *Mansion House*. After his decease, it was occupied, for a short time, by Mr. Hawthorne, who has beautifully and truly described its surrounding scenery, in his "*Mosses from an old Manse*," published in 1846. He also gives some account of the circumstances of the Fight:—

"It was at this window, that the clergyman, who then lived in the *Manse*, stood watching the outbreak of a long and deadly struggle, between two nations. He saw the irregular array of '*his Parishioners*' on the further side of the river, and the glittering line of the British on the hither bank." \* \* \*

"The monument, not more than twenty feet in height, is such as it befitted the inhabitants of the village to erect, in illustration of a matter of local interest, rather than what was suitable to commemorate an epoch of national history; still, *by the Fathers of the Village this famous deed was done*, and their descendants might rightfully claim the privilege of building a memorial." \* \* \* \*

After describing the spot, as marked by two moss-grown stones, where the two British soldiers were buried, it is added:

"Lowell the poet, as we were once standing over this grave, told me a tradition in reference to one of the inhabitants below." It was, in substance, that a youth, who was chopping wood for Mr. Emerson, hearing the firing, went to the bridge, with his axe in his hand. The parties had left the ground, and he saw two of the British lying near the bridge; one of them was dead, but the other attempted to rise as he approached, and received a fatal blow on the head with the axe.

Mr. H. does not allude to any account of the day, given by any historian; he honestly gives the impressions made on his mind, during his abode in the Old *Manse*. He doubtless believed that "the famous deed was done by the *Fathers of the Village*," the "*Parishioners*" of Mr. Emerson.

From the Baltimore Pilot.

## REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.

WASHINGTON, MAY 12, 1840.

When the Senate sketch was sent to the Pilot, on yesterday, the question was not taken on the bill for the relief of Hannah Leighton; it now gives me pleasure to inform you that the bill was ordered to be engrossed by a vote of 31 to 9. This bill, though private, awakens in our minds the recollections of the events connected with our glorious struggle for Independence, before demagogues, and wily politicians had corrupted the people. Hannah Leighton is the living widow of Capt. Isaac Davis of Massachusetts, the first officer who fell in the Revolution, and is now in penury, at the age of 94 years. Mr. Webster, who took a great interest in this bill, gave a vivid description of the gallantry of that young hero, her husband. So heart-stirring was the painting of that memorable event that all the scenes were before you, fresh and green, as though they were only just being enacted. Messrs. Calhoun, Benton, King, Hubbard, and Allen opposed this measure on the ground of impolicy, and swelling the pension list, and opening the door to all the descendants of the Revolution; but opposition soon melted away under the eloquence of Webster, Preston, and Crittenden. I know not how it is, but really the very best specimens of American orators that I have ever heard, have been on private bills, connected with that eventful epoch, the American Revolution. Probably it may be, on that subject, any honest heart is warmed with the noblest and purest impulses of our nature. In the patriotic labors in which you are engaged, I am aware that you can have but little time or space to devote to private matters; yet such cases as those of Hannah Leighton are the property of the nation, and your readers cannot fail to be interested in learning that gratitude still swells in the bosom of American statesmen toward all who participated in such an event, or even lived in that tide of time.

### NAMES OF CAPT. DAVIS' COMPANY.

The following are all the names of Capt. Davis's company that are now collected:—

ISAAC DAVIS, Captain.

JOHN HAYWARD, Lieutenant.

JOHN HEALD, Ensign.

JOSEPH PIPER, Clerk.

DAVID FORBUSH,

OLIVER EMERSON,

GEORGE MAXFIELD, } Sergeants.

SETH BROOKS,

LUTHER BLANCHARD, Fifer.

\* FRANCIS BARKER, Drummer.

\* When in my fifth year, Francis Barker was dressing a calf in my father's barn. Being a little troublesome, he turned suddenly, and told me to run, for my life, into the house, and tell my mother he wanted me, and not to stay a minute. I did not take the whole joke, and therefore ran half way, and walked back again. Francis Barker laughed.

*Privates.*

JOSEPH BARKER,  
EPHRAIM BILLINGS,  
OLIVER BROWN,  
JOSEPH CHAFFIN,  
EZEKIEL DAVIS,  
DAVID DAVIS,  
ELIJAH DAVIS,  
JOHN DAVIS,  
REUBEN DAVIS,  
JACOB GILBERT,  
BENJAMIN HAYWARD,  
ABNER HOSMER,

JAMES LAW,  
REUBEN LAW,  
JOSEPH LOCKE,  
PHILIP PIPER,  
JOSEPH REED,  
STEPHEN SHEPHERD,  
SOLOMON SMITH,  
JONATHAN STRATTON,  
WILLIAM THOMAS,  
THOMAS THORP,  
MOSES WOODS,  
JONAS HUNT.

ABRAHAM YOUNG.

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ABNER HOSMER.

ABNER HOSMER was the son of Deacon Jonathan Hosmer. He was young and still lived with his father, not far distant from the house of Capt. Davis. It is probable, therefore, that he formed with the company in the morning. However that may be, he has left substantial evidence that he was seasonably on the ground. The ball of the enemy passed through his head, and he died instantly.

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JAMES HAYWARD.

JAMES HAYWARD, son of Deacon Samuel Hayward, was born in Acton, April 15, 1750. He was a young man of enterprise and of great promise.

He left his father's house in the westerly part of Acton, on the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, with one pound of powder, and forty balls.

He followed the British in their retreat from Concord, and was eager and active in the attack.

At the eastern foot of Fisk's hill, in Lexington, at the house which now stands on the south side of the road, he had occasion to go to the well in front of the house to quench his thirst. In passing the west window he was espied by one of the enemy, who was plundering in the house. He hastily stepped to the front door and leveled his piece. The active eyes and limbs of young Hayward were not idle. His piece was leveled at his foe in the same instant. Both fired, and both fell; the British soldier dead; the other mortally wounded. The ball of his enemy passed through the lower part of his powder-horn, driving the splinters into his body. He had used nearly the whole of his powder and balls. During the eight hours in which he languished, he repeatedly expressed his willingness to die in defending the rights of his country.

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